

Message Text

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UNCLAS STATE 199565 TOSEC 090037

FOR WISNER AND MC HENRY FROM CHRISTOPHER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: CHRISTOPHER'S ABA SPEECH

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE DRAFT TEXT OF MY SPEECH FOR THE

ABA ON WEDNESDAY.

2. BEGIN TEXT. I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO

MEET WITH THE LITIGATION SECTION.

3. I AM SURE YOU UNDERSTAND THE REASONS WHY CY VANCE

CANNOT BE HERE TODAY, BUT YOU SHOULD ALSO UNDERSTAND HIS

DEEP REGRET AT HAVING TO MISS THE OCCASION.

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4. THOMAS JEFFERSON ONCE SAID THAT IT WAS THE TRADE OF

LAWYERS TO QUESTION EVERYTHING, YIELD NOTHING AND TALK BY

THE HOUR. I INTEND TO AVOID AT LEAST THE LAST OF THESE

OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS.

5. I WANT TO SPEND MOST OF THE TIME WE HAVE ANSWERING

YOUR SPECIFIC QUESTIONS. BUT I DO WANT TO TALK BRIEFLY

AT THE OUTSET ABOUT OUR EFFORTS TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS

TO SERIOUS REGIONAL CONFLICTS THAT THREATEN PEACE.

6. OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS IS

CRITICAL -- IN NAMIBIA, IN RHODESIA, IN LEBANON AND ELSE-

WHERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN CYPRUS, AND IN OTHER SERIOUS

TROUBLE SPOTS OF THE WORLD. THESE REGIONAL DISPUTES CON-

TAIN THE SEEDS OF WIDER CONFLICT, OF CONFRONTATION THAT

EXTENDS BEYOND THE REGION. EACH LINGERING DISPUTE PRO-

VIDES AN OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR ADVERSARIES TO FISH IN

TROUBLED WATERS. EACH CAN POSE A GRAVE RISK TO WORLD

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PEACE IN A NUCLEAR AGE.

7. THE HEAVIEST TOLL FALLS ON THOSE WHO ARE CAUGHT IN

THE CONFLICT. RESOURCES AND ENERGY ARE DRAINED FROM THE

WORK OF BUILDING BETTER LIVES AND STRONGER SOCIETIES. AND

AS THE WEAPONRY OF REGIONAL CONFLICT BECOMES MORE SOPHIS-

TICATED, THE POTENTIAL COST IN HUMAN LIVES GROWS MORE DEAR.

8. WE MUST ALL RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE NO INSTANT

SOLUTIONS OR QUICK REMEDIES FOR DISPUTES WITH SUCH DEEP

ROOTS. DECADES -- SOMETIMES CENTURIES -- OF MUTUAL SUS-

PICION AND DISTRUST ARE NOT EASILY OVERCOME. AND BASIC

DIFFERENCES OF RACE, RELIGION, ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND

NATIONAL IDENTITY OFTEN FUEL THE DISCORD.

9. BUT IT IS EQUALLY IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT PROGRESS

CAN BE MADE, THAT SEEMINGLY IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES

CAN BE OVERCOME. AND THE UNITED STATES HAS A UNIQUE
ROLE TO PLAY IN WORKING FOR THIS PROGRESS.

10. THERE HAS BEEN, IN RECENT YEARS, AN UNWARRANTED
PESSIMISM ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

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IT MAY STEM IN PART FROM THE FACT THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH
AN INCREASINGLY COMPLICATED WORLD SCENE, IN WHICH THERE
ARE MANY MORE NATIONS THAN A GENERATION AGO, AND THE
RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF ANY ONE COUNTRY IS DIMINISHED.

11. PROFESSOR STANLEY HOFFMANN RECENTLY DESCRIBED THE
AMERICAN EXPERIENCE WITH DIPLOMACY HAS HAVING BEEN
CENTERED IN THE PAST EITHER ON ISOLATION OR ON SUPREMACY.
NOW, IN A MORE PLURALISTIC WORLD, OUR CHALLENGE IS TO LEAD
EVEN WHEN WE DO NOT DOMINATE; TO USE OUR IMMENSE AND
UNDOUBTED STRENGTH TO INSPIRE OTHER NATIONS -- STRONG AND
WEAK -- TO WORK WITH US TOWARDS GOALS WE SHARE AND CANNOT
REACH ALONE.

12. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN EFFECTIVELY
PLAY THIS ROLE. FOR OUR POWER -- WHILE PERHAPS DIMINISHED
IN RELATIVE TERMS -- HAS NEVER BEEN GREATER IN ABSOLUTE
TERMS. OUR MILITARY STRENGTH IS IMMENSE; OUR ECONOMIC
INFLUENCE UNPARALLELED. THE RECENT REASSERTION OF OUR
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PRINCIPLES, THE BREADTH OF OUR RELATIONS THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD, AND OUR EVIDENT COMMITMENT TO PEACEMAKING IN
TROUBLED REGIONS MAKE US VALUED AS A MEDIATOR AND HONEST

BROKER. AND OUR DEMOCRATIC DOMESTIC TRADITIONS, WHICH EMPHASIZE BUILDING COALITIONS AROUND SHARED INTERESTS, SERVE US WELL WHEN WE ARE WORKING TO BUILD INCLUSIVE AND COOPERATIVE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ABROAD.

13. WE HAVE RECENTLY HAD AN EXAMPLE OF THIS KIND OF NEW AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN NAMIBIA. LET ME BRIEFLY DESCRIBE WHAT HAS HAPPENED.

14. IN THE LATE 1800'S, A COLONY TWICE THE SIZE OF CALIFORNIA WAS ESTABLISHED BY GERMANY ON THE SOUTHWEST COAST OF AFRICA. IN THE GEOGRAPHY BOOKS OF OUR YOUTH, IT WAS CALLED SOUTHWEST AFRICA. NOW IT IS CALLED NAMIBIA.

15. AFTER WORLD WAR I, ADMINISTRATION OF THIS AREA WAS TRANSFERRED TO NEIGHBORING SOUTH AFRICA UNDER A LEAGUE OF NATIONS MANDATE.

16. IN 1966, SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL MANDATE WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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REVOKED BY THE UNITED NATIONS, THROUGH THE ACTION OF ITS MEMBERS INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. SOUTH AFRICA REFUSED TO ACCEPT THIS DECISION. IN RECENT YEARS, THE CONFLICT OVER INDEPENDENCE FOR THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, AND TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE, HAS BECOME MORE INTENSE, WITH INCREASING CLASHES BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AND THOSE OF NAMIBIAN NATIONALISTS.

17. FIFTEEN MONTHS AGO, THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL -- THE U.S., BRITAIN, GERMANY, FRANCE AND CANADA -- LAUNCHED A MAJOR EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE

NAMIBIAN CONFLICT PEACEFULLY.

18. IN THE SPRING OF 1977, DISCUSSIONS BEGAN BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FIVE WESTERN COUNTRIES -- WHAT BECAME KNOWN AS THE "CONTACT GROUP" -- AND THE MAJOR PARTIES -- SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NAMIBIAN NATIONALISTS.

19. FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, THE NEIGHBORING AFRICAN UNCLASSIFIED

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STATES OF ZAMBIA, MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, TANZANIA AND BOTSWANA -- THE SO-CALLED FRONTLINE STATES -- AS WELL AS OTHERS IN AFRICA, WERE DEEPLY ENGAGED AT EACH STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THE INITIAL TALKS IDENTIFIED THE BASIC ISSUES THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED. DURING LAST FALL AND WINTER, THE CONTACT GROUP MET REPEATEDLY WITH THE PARTIES AND THE AFRICAN STATES TO DEVELOP SPECIFIC PEACE PROPOSALS.

20. BECAUSE THE PARTIES WOULD NOT ENGAGE IN DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, THE CONTACT GROUP USED A VARIETY OF DIPLOMATIC TECHNIQUES. AT TIMES, IT ENGAGED IN A FORM OF "SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY," MOVING BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN THE PARTIES AND THE VARIOUS AFRICAN STATES THAT WERE PLAYING AN INDISPENSABLE ROLE. AT ONE CRITICAL POINT IN FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR, BOTH SIDES WERE INVITED TO NEW YORK FOR XX DAYS OF INTENSIVE "PROXIMITY TALKS." ALTHOUGH THE PARTIES WERE NOT IN THE SAME ROOM TOGETHER, THEY WERE ABLE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS THROUGH NEGOTIATING UNCLASSIFIED

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INTERMEDIARIES.

21. ONE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY ASPECTS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WAS THE ABILITY OF THE FIVE-NATION CONTACT GROUP TO FUNCTION TOGETHER AS A UNIT. MANY INDIVIDUALS, FROM EACH OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED, PLAYED CRITICAL ROLES. I THINK ALL WHO WERE INVOLVED WOULD AGREE THAT THE VISION AND PERSISTENCE OF AMBASSADORS ANDREW YOUNG AND DON MC HENRY OF OUR DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE BEEN VITAL. PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY VANCE PROVIDED CONSTANT LEADERSHIP AND POLICY GUIDANCE.

22. THERE WERE MANY TIMES WHEN THE GENERAL MISTRUST BUILT UP OVER THE YEARS, OR UNFORTUNATE INCIDENTS, SET BACK THE CHANCES FOR A SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, NOW, AT LONG LAST, THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE PRODUCED AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO CEASE HOSTILITIES AND TO PROCEED WITH A PROMPT TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE THROUGH INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED ELECTIONS.
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23. TWO WEEKS AGO, THE UNITED NATIONS ENDORSED THIS AGREEMENT AND LAUNCHED THE PROCESS FOR ESTABLISHING INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING AND SUPERVISION DURING THE CRITICAL TRANSITION PERIOD. LAST SUNDAY, THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, MR. MARTI AHTISAARI, ARRIVED IN NAMIBIA TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING A U.N. PRESENCE IN THAT COUNTRY.

24. A GREAT DEAL OF HARD WORK REMAINS TO ASSURE THAT THE

AGREEMENT IS SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED. IT IS LIKELY THAT BOTH PARTIES WILL ATTEMPT, DURING THE COMING PERIOD, TO REOPEN VARIOUS ISSUES ON WHICH THEY WERE UNABLE TO OBTAIN FULL SATISFACTION DURING THE LENGTHY NEGOTIATIONS WHICH LED UP TO THE FINAL AGREEMENT. SUCH PRESSURES WILL HAVE TO BE RESISTED. FOR OUR PART, THE UNITED STATES WILL LEND ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THE IMPLEMENTATION EFFORT.

25. IT MAY BE USEFUL, I THINK, TO TAKE A MOMENT TO IDENTIFY THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE NAMIBIA EFFORT AND TO CONSIDER THEIR RELEVANCE TO ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF OTHER REGIONAL CONFLICTS.

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26. NO TWO REGIONAL CONFLICTS ARE LIKELY TO YIELD TO PRECISELY THE SAME APPROACHES, BUT NEVERTHELESS THERE ARE IMPORTANT LESSONS TO BE FOUND IN THE PRINCIPLES WHICH GUIDED THE NAMIBIAN ENDEAVOR.

27. FIRST, A SETTLEMENT MUST REFLECT THE WILL OF THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. A SOLUTION CANNOT BE IMPOSED FROM THE OUTSIDE. IT MUST BE PERCEIVED BY ALL OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES AS MEETING THEIR VITAL INTERESTS.

28. SECOND, TO ENDURE A SETTLEMENT MUST NOT ONLY HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE NEGOTIATING PARTIES, IT MUST GAIN THE ACCEPTANCE AND SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY IT. THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA WILL BE DETERMINED BY OPEN ELECTIONS, WHOSE FAIRNESS WILL BE GUARANTEED BY UN SUPERVISION.

29. THIRD, THE PARTICIPATION OF IMPARTIAL NATIONS WHOSE

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NEGOTIATORS ARE RESPECTED AND CREDIBLE TO BOTH SIDES IS
INDISPENSABLE. ANTAGONISM AND DISTRUST BETWEEN THE TWO
SIDES IN NAMIBIA MADE NEGOTIATIONS ALL BUT IMPOSSIBLE IN
THE ABSENCE OF OUTSIDE MEDIATORS SUCH AS THE CONTACT GROUP.
THEY PROVIDED A CHANNEL FOR COMMUNICATING IDEAS AND COMP-
ROMISES AND, ULTIMATELY, FOR REACHING AGREEMENT.

30. FOURTH, ENCOURAGEMENT AND COOPERATIVE DIPLOMACY FROM

OTHER KEY COUNTRIES IN THE REGION CAN PLAY A VITAL ROLE.

THE NEIGHBORING AFRICAN STATES WERE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE

IN GAINING THE TRUST AND SUPPORT OF THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL-

ISTS. THEIR EXPERIENCE IN GAINING THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE

GAVE THEM AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT WAS NEEDED TO ACHIEVE

A SOLUTION. THEIR INTEREST IN PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE

AREA LED THEM TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE MEDIATING STATES

TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

31. FIFTH, AND FINALLY, THE CONTINUED COMMITMENT OF THE

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO MAKING THE SETTLEMENT WORK IS

CRITICAL. WITH ITS HISTORIC CONNECTION TO NAMIBIA, THE

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UNITED NATIONS HAS PROVIDED THE FRAMEWORK FOR REACHING AN

AGREEMENT. IT WILL NOW PROVIDE THE MACHINERY FOR IMPLE-

MENTING THAT AGREEMENT AND ASSURING THE NEW NAMIBIAN

GOVERNMENT INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT AND ACCEPTANCE. IN

ADDITION TO SUPERVISING THE ELECTION PROCESS, THE UN WILL
PROVIDE A PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO ASSURE FAIR ELECTIONS.
AND ULTIMATELY, THE UN AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES WILL
HELP THE NEW GOVERNMENT STRENGTHEN ITS POLITICAL INSTI-
TUTIONS AND DEVELOP ITS ECONOMY.

32. AN APPROACH BASED ON DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND
COOPERATIVE DIPLOMACY WORKED WELL IN NAMIBIA. THESE ARE
ALSO THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS ON
RHODESIA.

33. AS IN NAMIBIA, AN END TO THE FIGHTING IN RHODESIA,
AND A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE, CAN ONLY COME
FROM AN AGREEMENT AMONG ALL THE PARTIES TO A GENUINELY
FAIR AND IMPARTIAL TRANSITION PROCESS THAT WOULD ENABLE
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THE PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT IN FREE
ELECTIONS. IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT, THE
PROSPECT IS FOR INCREASED BLOODSHED.

34. IN RHODESIA, WE ARE ACTING IN SUPPORT OF GREAT
BRITAIN, WHICH HAS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY AS THE COLONIAL
POWER AND HAS WORKED OVER THE YEARS TO SECURE A PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN THIS EFFORT WITH THE
AFRICAN STATES OF THE REGION. THEY SHARE OUR COMMITMENT
TO A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF A GROWING WAR THAT
WOULD HAVE TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENTIRE REGION.
AND WE ARE WORKING IN THE CONTEXT OF A LONG-STANDING
UNITED NATIONS CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE OF RHODESIA.

35. THE PROPOSALS WE HAVE PUT FORTH WITH THE BRITISH

WOULD PROVIDE FOR FAIR NATIONWIDE ELECTIONS OPEN TO ALL
PARTIES ON AN EQUAL BASIS. NO FACTION WOULD BE ALLOWED
TO DOMINATE THE TRANSITION PERIOD OR TO EXERCISE UNDUE
INFLUENCE OVER THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS. A UN FORCE
WOULD MAINTAIN THE PEACE AND HELP PREVENT INTIMIDATION
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DURING THIS CRUCIAL PERIOD. UNITED NATIONS OBSERVERS
WOULD HELP GUARANTEE THAT ELECTIONS ARE FAIR AND THAT
THEIR RESULTS ARE RECOGNIZED BY THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

36. THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS. EACH SIDE HAS AGREED TO
THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE THROUGH ELECTIONS. BUT
BOTH ALSO SEEK TO DOMINATE THE TRANSITION PROCESS. WE
ARE WORKING TO BRING THEM TOGETHER IN AN "ALL PARTIES"
MEETING TO AGREE TO A PROCESS THAT ALL WILL SEE AS FAIR
AND THAT CAN THEREFORE BRING AN END TO THE CONFLICT.

37. TO KEEP OPEN THIS DOOR TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT
AMONG ALL THE PARTIES, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE UNITED
STATES NOT CHOOSE SIDES AMONG THEM. SOME HAVE ARGUED
THAT WE SHOULD NOW SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN IAN
SMITH AND SOME OF THE BLACK LEADERS -- AND CEASE OUR
PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS AGAINST
RHODESIA -- BEFORE TRULY FREE ELECTIONS ARE HELD. WE
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ARE PLEASED THAT RECENT EFFORTS IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE
TO LIFT SANCTIONS IMMEDIATELY WERE REJECTED.

38. THERE ARE SEVERAL REASONS WHY I STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT
SIDING WITH THE INTERNAL -- OR EXTERNAL -- PARTIES WOULD
BE A DANGEROUS COURSE.

39. IT WOULD NOT HELP TO END THE FIGHTING IN RHODESIA.
WHATEVER ONE MAY THINK ABOUT THE TWO SIDES TO THE CONFLICT,
IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE FIGHTING WILL NOT STOP UNTIL BOTH
SIDES COME TOGETHER TO NEGOTIATE A TRANSITION PROCESS ALL
ACCEPT AS FAIR. AND ONLY SUCH A RESULT WILL ELIMINATE
THE OPPORTUNITY FOR GROWING INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONFLICT
BY THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS.

40. THE ONLY REALISTIC CHANNEL NOW OPEN FOR BRINGING THE
PARTIES TOGETHER IS THE US-UK NEGOTIATED EFFORT. THAT
EFFORT WILL REMAIN ALIVE ONLY AS LONG AS WE REMAIN
NEUTRAL. IF WE DO OTHERWISE, WE WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE
OUR ABILITY TO WORK WITH THE AFRICAN STATES IN THE REGION
WHOSE COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL IN FINDING A PEACEFUL
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RESOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT.

41. THE WISER COURSE, IN MY JUDGMENT, IS TO PERSIST IN
OUR EFFORTS, AS WE DID IN NAMIBIA, TO BRING THE PARTIES
TOGETHER TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS,
AND TO WORK FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO A STABLE AND
INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED NATION WHERE BOTH BLACKS AND
WHITES CAN PROSPER.

42. CONCLUSION

THERE IS NO SHORTCUT TO PEACE -- IN SOUTHERN AFRICA OR
ELSEWHERE WHERE REGIONAL CONFLICTS CLOUD THE FUTURE.

THERE WILL BE SETBACKS AND FRUSTRATIONS ALONG THE WAY.

BUT THE EXPERIENCE IN NAMIBIA DEMONSTRATES THAT PROGRESS

CAN BE MADE, THAT FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES CAN BE SUR-

MOUNTED, WHEN THE PARTIES, AND THOSE WHO SHARE A STAKE

IN A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, PERSIST IN THEIR COMMITMENT TO

NEGOTIATING THEIR DIFFERENCES.

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43. WITHOUT PATIENCE AND PERSISTENCE ON OUR PART,

IMMENSELY COMPLICATED DISPUTES WILL NEVER GIVE WAY TO

THE DIPLOMATIC AGREEMENTS WE SEEK. THE PARTIES TO CONFLICT

MUST HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OUR UNYIELDING COMMITMENT TO THE

PROCESSES OF PEACE. AND WE OURSELVES WANT NEVER TO BE IN

THE POSITION, YEARS HENCE, OF ASKING WHETHER, HAD WE WORKED

HARDER TO KEEP OPEN THOSE PROCESSES, A WAR COULD HAVE BEEN

AVOIDED. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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